

CHAPTER SEVEN

Differentiation: Mediatization AND Cultural Change

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POSITIONING MEDIATIZATION: INTRODUCTION

If we consider the present discussion on mediatization, we can identify two positions. First, there is the position whereby the concept of mediatization throws light on a ‘media logic’ that is active in various social fields. Winfried Schulz, for example, discusses the mediatization of politics in such a frame, understanding as one (and the strongest) aspect of mediatization that ‘the actors and organizations of all sectors of society accommodate to the media logic’ (Schulz 2004, p. 98).¹ More recently, Stig Hjarvard has discussed mediatization as a ‘logic of the media’; that is, ‘their organizational, technological, and aesthetic functioning, including the ways in which media allocate material and symbolic resources and work through formal and informal rules’ (Hjarvard 2007, p. 3).

The second position is the critique of such a linear view. Maybe most prominent is the critique by Nick Couldry, arguing that all dimensions of society are indeed shaped not only through ‘the media,’ but also through other acts of appropriation, interpretation, and resistance that are not necessarily media related (Couldry 2003). Taking these reflections, he highlights that ‘media-related pressures at work in society... [are] too heterogeneous to be reduced to a single “media logic”’ (Couldry 2008, p. 375).

With respect to this discussion, this chapter takes an ‘in-between’ position. On the one hand, I share all the basic reflections by Nick Couldry, arguing for an approach that emphasizes the power-related, ‘dynamic, nonlinear circuit of meaning’ (Livingstone 2009) under which Stuart Hall understands any process of media communication (cf. Hall 1997a, b). Moreover, I also share the argument put forward by Nick Couldry that we have to discuss transformations of the media in relation to a ‘particular field’ (Couldry 2008, p. 377).

But on the other hand, I do not share the general rejection of mediatization theory related to positions like these. In a nutshell, the main argument of this chapter is that we surely have to investigate the mediatization of certain cultural fields carefully in detail and cannot assume a single ‘linear media logic.’ However, the concept of mediatization becomes useful if we do not relate it to the assumption of one ‘media logic’ but understand it more generally as a frame for researching the relation between media and cultural change. So while critics of mediatization theories are right in rejecting the linear variants of it, more complex approaches can be helpful for researching on media and cultural change as they offer a more abstract, orientating frame of interpretation.

To make this argument more palpable, I wish to argue as follows: In a first step, I will theorize mediatization as a general approach for researching what I call the ‘moulding forces’ of the media. Based on this understanding, I then go on to outline a general research frame for an investigation of the mediatization of specific cultural fields. Finally, I conclude by formulating some general considerations for future research on mediatization. So, all in all, this chapter is a theoretical one, trying to formulate an approach on mediatization that is marked by a ‘differentiation perspective.’ However, it is based on various empirical research in different cultural fields.

THEORIZING MEDIATIZATION: THE ‘MOULDING FORCES’ OF THE MEDIA

When theorizing mediatization, one of the most helpful starting points is the understanding of Friedrich Krotz (2007, 2008). The main point for him is to understand ‘mediatization’—like ‘individualization,’ ‘globalization,’ and ‘commercialization’—as ‘meta-processes.’ A ‘meta-process’ is not an empirical process in the sense that we can investigate it as—for example—a certain talk or a person crossing the street. Meta-processes are superior theoretical approaches describing long-term processes of change. So a ‘meta-process’ cannot be researched empirically as a single transformation phenomenon. Notwithstanding, only the formulation of theories of ‘meta-processes’ allows

us to structure the complexity of different empirical data to get a deeper understanding of occurring (long-term) processes of change.

We can best illustrate this with the example of another ‘meta-process,’ that is, ‘individualization.’ In the introduction to the volume ‘Individualization,’ Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim define this concept as follows:

The concept of ‘individualization’ will be developed in this sociological sense of institutionalized individualism. Central institutions of modern society—basic civil, political, and social rights, but also paid employment and the training and mobility necessary for it—are geared to the individual and not to the group. Insofar as basic rights are internalized and everyone wants to or must be economically active to earn their livelihood, the spiral of individualization destroys the given foundation of social coexistence. So—to give a simple definition of individualization—‘individualization’ means disembedding without reembedding. (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001, p. xxi f)

The point of this quote is not just that it demonstrates that individualization is understood ‘in a nonlinear mode,’ as Scott Lash has written in his foreword to that volume. The main point is rather that, with their approach to individualization, Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim outline an explanation of the present social change that cannot be proven by any single survey. Rather, we have to understand their theory of individualization as a meta approach that makes it possible to integrate very different results of surveys and qualitative investigations into an overall coherent understanding. This ‘meta-process’ of ‘individualization’ is not isolated; so, for example, the quote refers to questions of ‘commercialization.’ Also, it is in itself contradictory and nonlinear, as it is marked by an unintentional reflexivity.

Without at this point going into further detail on the discussion of ‘individualization,’ reflecting on this quote permits an understanding of what it actually means to consider ‘mediatization’ as such a ‘meta-process.’ Friedrich Krotz outlines the ‘meta-process’ of mediatization exactly in a comparative manner when he writes:

By mediatization we mean the historical developments that took and take place as a result of change in (communication) media and the consequences of those changes. If we consider the history of communication through music, or the art of writing, we can describe the history of human beings as a history of newly emerging media and at the same time changing forms of communication. The new media do not, in general, substitute for one another, as has been recognized in communication research since the work of the Austrian researcher Riepel... (Krotz 2008, p. 23)

Basically, we can then argue that mediatization captures the process of an increasing spreading of technical communication media in different social and cultural spheres.

In such a nonspecific understanding, mediatization is certainly related to the theorizing of so-called medium theory, with the distinction among oral cultures, scribal cultures, modern print cultures, and present globalized electronic cultures (Meyrowitz 1995, p. 58; p. Schofield Clark in this volume). Without discussing these arguments of medium theory in detail, one can say that they refer to the idea of an increasing mediatization as not just a linear process of change but as a process with certain tipping points: The specificity of certain media—and thus the thinking of medium theory—is related to the specificity of a certain cultural change.

While this theorizing is an important starting point for an understanding of mediatization in general, it is necessary to theorize the relation of media change and further processes of change in a more complex manner than medium theory does. This is precisely what a theory of mediatization introduces. In a certain sense, mediatization tries to take up the central idea of medium theory that ‘media change’ and ‘cultural change’ are interrelated, but tries to theorize this not only in the perspective of the relation from media to cultural change. To do this, a first step is to distinguish between two aspects of mediatization; that is, a quantitative and a qualitative one.

1. Quantitative Aspects of Mediatization

Simply put, the quantitative view of mediatization is marked by the word ‘more.’ Basically, it is obvious that throughout history the basic number of technological media available to us has increased as well as our different uses of these media. If we focus on this in more detail, we can define mediatization as an ongoing process of the increase of media communication on (a) temporal, (b) spatial and (c) social levels (cf. Krotz 2007).

On the temporal level, the increasing number of technological media is becoming more and more accessible all the time. In the present, television, for example, has no closedown anymore but is an ongoing, never-ending flow of technological mediated communication. The internet makes it possible to surf all the time, and so on.

On the spatial level, we can say that media are more and more accessible across different localities. The telephone, for example, is no longer a media technology related to a certain place of communication, such as the office, private home, or public telephone box. As a personalized mobile phone, it is available virtually across all spaces. The same can be said for television, which as ‘public viewing’ again has left the private home.

These examples refer already to the social level of mediatization, which means that more and more social contexts are marked by media use. To take a further example for this, computer use is no longer something that is done solely in work

contexts. Rather, computer use ranks over the very different social spheres of the private and public, the work time and spare time, and so on.

Reflecting these three aspects of the quantitative perspective on mediatization together, it becomes clear that this perspective encompasses more than a linear process of increase. With the increase of different media in human life in general, we have a synergistic process that brings mediatization additionally forward, for example, in the way cross-media content production is more and more characterized by mediated communication.

Altogether, in a quantitative perspective, it becomes obvious that we are confronted with a long-standing process of spreading media communication that also refers to a qualitative change.

2. *Qualitative Aspects of Mediatization*

Taking up the ideas of medium theory, we have to focus on the fact that the process of mediatization also comprises qualitative changes in the sense of how the spreading of certain media is related to the specificity of cultural change—or put more simply, as an increase of meaning of media and mediated communication on all levels. In a nutshell, we can capture this qualitative aspect of mediatization if we focus on the interrelation of how technological media ‘structure’ the way we communicate—how the way we communicate via media is reflected in their technological change.

This consideration refers to Raymond Williams, who has argued that media are both simultaneously ‘technology and cultural form’ (Williams 1990).² *Technology* refers to material procedures and formations that are used in acting—in our case, in communication—to increase its possibilities (cf. Rammert 2007, p. 17). In this sense, ‘media of communication’ signify ‘technological systems with a certain functionality and potential for the spreading of information’ (Kubicek 1997, p. 220) as, for example, print. The expression ‘media technological change’ refers then to the change of these technological systems, which has gained a dynamic impulse by means of digitalization (and the related miniaturization) in recent decades. Thus, we can say that the qualitative aspect of mediatization focuses *also* on the ‘material’ (Gumbrecht and Pfeiffer 1994) character of media technological change in the sense that media technologies have a ‘materialized specificity’ that is based on communicative action/practices, and at the same time it structures communicative action/practices.

What we can see here is something I want to call the ‘moulding forces’ of the media (German: *Prägnanz der Medien*); that is, that media themselves exert a certain ‘pressure’ on the way we communicate. Television, for example, has the ‘pressure’ to present ideas in a more linear mode and with a suitable visual presentation. Print, to take another example, makes it possible to develop more complex

argumentation, as it can be read more slowly and offers the opportunity for complex ways of structuring text. And the mobile phone, as a last example, makes it possible to stay in ongoing communicative connectivity with a group of people while being on the move—and it exerts a certain ‘pressure’ to do this. However, all these examples also demonstrate that this is not a direct ‘effect’ of the ‘material structure’ of the media but something that only becomes concrete in different ways of mediation; that is, by certain forms of communication. As present forms of symbolic action increasingly integrate technological media, ‘communicative change’ and ‘media change’ together form ‘mediatization’ as a qualitative change and cannot be reduced to each other, for example by arguing that one would determine the other.

Having said this, the concept of the ‘moulding forces’ of the media holds on the idea that there are different specificities of different media we have to have in focus while researching change. However, these specificities of different media are produced in human acting and without indicating ‘one trajectory’ (or logic) of the media. So we do not have to focus just effect but *specificity* in multilevel transformation processes.

Relating this back to the three quantitative dimensions of mediatization—the social, spatial and temporal ones—we have to look in detail how the ‘moulding forces’ of different media become concrete along these various dimensions and in different cultural fields. Such an approach to mediatization offers at the same time a general frame for relating research as well as a starting point for contextualized investigations.

RESEARCHING MEDIATIZATION: CULTURAL FIELDS

When we discuss the question of how to conceptualize research on media and cultural change, the reflections being developed by John B. Thompson in his book, *The Media and Modernity*, are a helpful starting point. Reflecting on the question as to how the media are interrelated with the development of modern societies, Thompson argues as follows:³

If we focus . . . not on values, attitudes, and beliefs, but rather on symbolic forms and their modes of production and circulation in the social world, then we shall see that, with the advent of modern societies in the late medieval and early modern periods, a systematic cultural transformation began to take hold. By virtue of a series of technical innovations associated with printing and, subsequently, with the electrical codification of information, symbolic forms were produced, reproduced, and circulated on a scale that was unprecedented. Patterns of communication and interaction began to change in profound and irreversible ways. These changes, which comprise what can loosely be

called the 'mediatization of culture,' had a clear institutional basis: namely, the development of media organizations, which first appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century and have expanded their activities ever since. (Thompson 1995, p. 46)

In my perspective, two arguments in this quote are striking. First, that there is a 'systematic cultural transformation'; that is, we can typify certain patterns along which cultural change takes place. Second, these patterns should be, for logical reasons, related to questions of media change. Only therefore we can speak of a process of 'mediatization of culture.'

Relating these considerations back to the articulation of the state in modernity, Thompson highlights the relevance of the mass media for building up this new form of economic, political, coercive, and symbolic power. It was the print media (and later in the twentieth century radio and television as well) on which the articulation of national identity was based, an identity that first and foremost made the cohesion of the modern (nation) state possible (Thompson 1995, p. 51). At this point, his arguments meet with the reflections by others, for example, Benedict Anderson (1983), Orvar Löfgren (2001), and David Morley (2000). In a (for sure simplifying) description, the relation between nation state and national identity can be described as something that had been mediated by the traditional mass media: newspapers, books, radio, and television. If we ask here for mediatization, that is, the 'moulding forces' of these media, we can at least typify certain tendencies: On the social level, they addressed the 'mass audience' of a national population from a 'centre' (and by this helped to construct this 'centre'); on the spatial level, they reached a national territory (and by this helped to create an understanding of state borders as borders of the national community); and on the temporal level, they allowed a more and more speeded-up communication (and by this an addressing of 'the people' virtually in real time).

If we look in detail, we find additional 'moulding forces' of these 'mass media' as soon as we focus more on their differences. Of course, print is something different from TV. Nevertheless, we can argue that, up to the middle of the twentieth century, we had a *tendency* of constructing a territorial national communicative space by the media.⁴ In a certain sense, we can understand this as a certain stage of 'mediatization of culture' (or in the words of Thompson, of 'mediatization of culture') that results in something we might call *national-territorial media culture*, a culture whose primary resources of meaning are accessible through technology-based media. By this I do not want to say that all is mediated technically within these national-territorial media cultures (cf. Hepp and Couldry 2009a). However, we have a national centering by the media here. But the interrelation between media and cultural change went further and resulted in something John Tomlinson has called 'telemediatization' (Tomlinson 2007, p. 94) of culture;

that is, ‘the increasing implications of electronic communications and media systems in the constitution of everyday experience.’ Based on this, we are nowadays confronted with a much higher multiplicity of different communicative spaces, a process of change we can illustrate with the figure below.

In total, the graph is intended to visualize the main arguments outlined above. Up to the 1950s, the mediatization of culture resulted *in tendency* in the construction of a territorial communicative space and relating national cultures. In the present, we are *in tendency* confronted with a higher pluralisation of mediated communicative spaces that are related to a much higher variability of different cultural context fields such as, for example, the everyday, business, religion, and so forth. The argument here is that this process of change is related to an increasing mediatization along the social, spatial, and temporal dimension. All of them have to be seen in their interrelation to processes of further cultural change, that is, individualization, deterritorialization, and the coming of intermediacy.

1. *Social Dimension: Individualization*

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, we can understand individualization as one dominant meta-process of social change. In the words of Ulrich Beck, this process does not mean only ‘the disintegration of previously existing social forms’ (class, denomination) but additionally, and based on this, that ‘new demands, controls, and constraints are being imposed on individuals’ (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001, p. 2). The individual is *urged* to be far more responsible for his or her life while the resources he or she has are not shared equally.

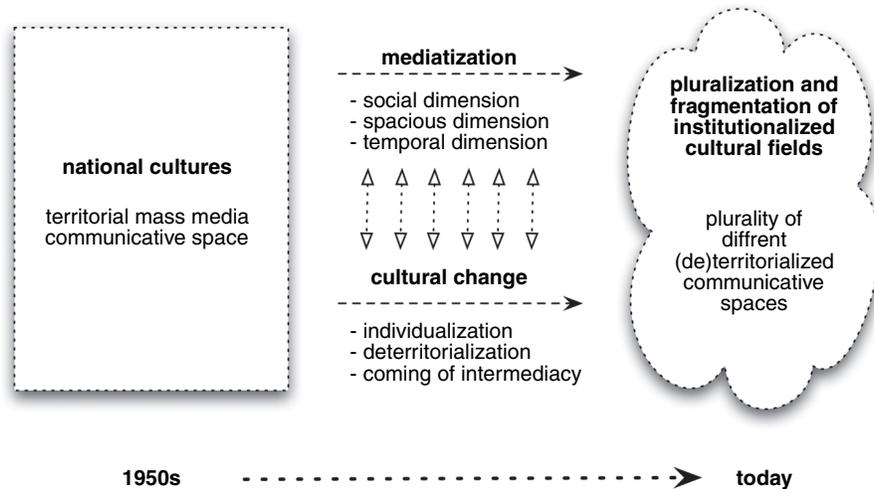


Figure 1: Tendencies of mediatization and cultural change.

If we discuss these processes of individualization, we have to relate them also to the social dimension of mediatization, that is, the spreading of technologically media in different social spheres. For example, within processes of individualization, the media can be understood as an ‘instance of orientation.’ We can take makeover television shows as an example for this (Ouellette and Hay 2008; Thomas 2009): In shows like ‘The Swan’ or ‘Idol,’ the model of individualized lifestyle is brought to the extreme in the sense that the personal story of a willful self-optimization is staged as something usual. These shows can be understood as instances that ‘orientate’ or ‘guide’ people in the sense that such an individualized self-optimization is—albeit on a lower level—a regular way of life formation in the present.

Also, we can argue that the media are something like a ‘contested market’ of the different offerings of individualized societies. With the spreading of the media in very different social spheres, we expect that the different central offerings of the present—fashion, belief, business models, etc.—are communicated via the media. They are the place where these different offerings not only ‘compete’ in the economic sense of the word but also where the contestation about the ‘right way selection’ takes place.

If we leave such reflection of the role of pluralized mass media and focus more on digital media of personal communication, we can argue that they have an important role as ‘resources for identity bricolage.’ Within online chat, for example, it is quite easily possible to negotiate aspects of one’s own identity with persons having comparable orientations or interests.

2. Spatial Dimension: Deterritorialization

At the spatial level, we see the spreading of media related to the cultural change of an ongoing process of deterritorialization; that is, an increasing ‘loss of the ‘natural’ relation of culture to geographical and social territories’ (García Canclini 1995, p. 229). In a physical respect, deterritorialization is related to different forms of mobility that mark our present cultures (cf. Urry 1999, 2003); for example, the mobility of migrants, of business trips, or of tourism. However, we can also discern a communicative deterritorialization, that is, the uncoupling of communicative spaces from territories as it is related to an increasing global communicative connectivity (cf. Hepp 2008b). Again, we can demonstrate this with some examples.

First of all, the media serve as community-specific identity offerings, not only on the national level but also on the level of deterritorial communities: social movements, fan cultures, religious communities, and diasporas all share the conjuncture that they form networks of communities that transgress different territories translocally and therefore highly relate to technical media of communication for all processes of identity articulation.

Other examples are transnational publics, such as the European public sphere, that are marked by processes of new territorialisation of communication based, however, on a previous transgression of national communicative spaces. While staying segmented nationally (Wessler et al. 2008), they form processes of trans-cultural understanding.

Finally, we see media aspects of deterritorialization at the level of personal communication. For example, digital media such as e-mail and chat facilitate keeping in touch across different territories of living family and friendship networks.

3. Temporal Dimension: Coming of Intermediacy

If we consider the temporal dimension of the interrelation of mediatization and cultural change and follow the arguments put forward by John Tomlinson (2007), we can detect a ‘new coming of intermediacy.’ John Tomlinson himself relates this intermediacy *also* to the increasing mediatization of culture, the temporal ubiquitousness of electronic media. For him this is related to a ‘culture of instantaneity’ (Tomlinson 2007, p. 74), the expectation of rapid delivery, ubiquitous availability, and the instance gratification of desires. Additionally, it is related to a ‘sense of directness, of cultural proximity’ (ibid.).

If we discuss this in more detail, we can again formulate some examples based on Tomlinson’s reflections. First of all, we can argue that media are a kind of ‘instance of synchronization,’ not only nationally (an argument also developed by John B. Thompson) but also beyond national communicative spaces. Examples of this are outstanding media events (Olympics, disasters, etc.) that ‘synchronize,’ besides all diversity, certain thematic orientations transculturally (cf. Couldry, Hepp, and Krotz 2009).

Additionally, we can see media as ‘founders of cultural proximity,’ again not only in the case of ‘banal nationalism’ (Billig 1995) of the nation state but also in the proximity of the ‘telepresence’ (Tomlinson 2007, p. 112) of our media communication—for example, in chat rooms. In particular, the mobile phone can be understood as a relevant medium in this regard, as it offers the possibility of a constant personal connectivity. In this sense, it is also appropriated especially by young people, who use the mobile phone and SMS to stay constantly in contact with their peers (cf. Höflich and Rössler 2001).

In all, the different examples have demonstrated (at least this is my hope) that a differentiation of a social, spatial, and temporal dimension of mediatization is helpful, and have illuminated their relation to the cultural changes of individualization, deterritorialization, and coming of intermediacy. Reflecting on this, we open up insight into why, in the present, a *sole* focus on a national-territorial communicative space and a related national culture falls short if we want to understand current media cultures. They are much more complex than such an understanding would indicate,

if in a pure form it ever existed. So it seems that the general typification of tendencies of mediatization and cultural change outlined in Figure 1 is a helpful general frame for researching the present interrelation of media and cultural change.

However, at the same time, these arguments appear disaffecting, as one important point in such a general frame remains underexposed, that is, how the 'moulding forces' of the media develop in detail. How does this certain 'pressure of the media' manifest itself? How is it related to which processes of change? If we want to answer questions like these, we have to carry out a further step of concretization, that is, an analysis of the mediatization in specific cultural fields at certain times. We cannot state that the process of mediatization is related to an internal and external pluralisation and fragmentation of culture if at the same time we consider this mediatization as being identical for all different cultural fields.

Using at this point the term 'cultural fields,' my arguments are related to Pierre Bourdieu's (1998) field theory, but not in a direct manner. In a careful discussion of this approach, Nick Couldry (2003) made a number of arguments that rely much more on questions of mediatization than he might have anticipated when formulating them. Discussing Bourdieu's idea that 'journalism' and 'the media' should be considered as one field, Nick Couldry (2003) argues that this approach of Bourdieu falls short, as he does not reflect the special role of this field in relation to others. To do this, it is far more helpful to use another concept of Bourdieu and relate it to the media, that is, the concept of 'meta capital.' Bourdieu has developed this concept to explain the power of the state in relation to other social fields, which is a power related to the circumstance that the state acts directly on the infrastructure of all fields. In the media, Nick Couldry argues, we can discern a comparable 'meta capital,' that is 'a truly dominant concentration of symbolic power ('symbolic power' in the strong sense of a power over the construction of social reality)': 'In highly centralized societies, certain institutions have a specific ability to influence all fields at once' (Couldry 2003, p. 669). In a certain way, here we have an aspect of mediatization in its institutional forms that is a reflection of the media as power-related institutions that put 'pressure' (Couldry 2003, p. 657) on other social fields.

If we transfer these arguments to the thinking about mediatization developed so far, we can argue, on the one hand, that we need a more detailed approach if we want to consider the 'moulding forces' of the media as a general field theory and, on the other hand, that the idea of 'taking a field-specific approach' for the concretization of the social dimension (individualization), spacious dimension (deterritorialization), and temporal dimension (coming of intermediacy) of mediatization is a necessary starting point.

This also calls for a more concrete concept of 'field,' which is why I want to focus on 'cultural context fields' and relate their understanding more to a certain

reading of the social constructivism described by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1991, p. 42ff). In their sociology, the concept of institutionalization has a high value. In their perspective, institutionalization takes place if habitualized actions are typecast by types of actors; the result of this are certain institutions, reaching from 'fatherhood' through 'family' to more complex forms like 'school' or 'university.' These forms of institutionalization can be understood as specific, however complex, sets of cultural patterns, marked by multilevel power-relations.

If we do not see these institutions as being isolated but rather as being highly interrelated, we can argue that they articulate certain 'cultural fields.' Therefore, 'cultural fields' in the sense I want to use the term are cultural realms of networked type actions and types of actors, marked by defined power-relations.⁵ For example, the field of 'higher education' is not only articulated by the 'university' as an institution but also by 'accreditation agencies,' 'publishing industries,' and so on. My argument at this point is to take a more detailed look at the mediatization of these cultural fields by researching their articulation through various related institutions and power-relations empirically and take a necessary 'radical contextualism' (Ang 1996, p. 66) seriously. If we do this, we begin to get an understanding of how the 'moulding forces' of the media manifest themselves in processes of interrelation with other forces.

Please provide closing quotes

CONTEXTUALIZING MEDIATIZATION: TWO EXAMPLES

For such a contextualized approach on mediatization, I present the following two examples. In the first example, I want to focus on the mediatization of the Catholic World Youth Day, a certain institution that can be understood as characteristic for the change of the 'cultural fields' of different religions. The other example is the mediatization of diasporas, that is, migrant communities on the move. Both examples are based on research published elsewhere; however, here they are systematized in a new way for discussing the matter of researching mediatization in a more general frame.

1. The Mediatization of the Catholic World Youth Day

The Catholic Church's World Youth Day goes back to the year 1985, when it was initiated by Pope Jean Paul II as part of the United Nation's year of youth. Since then, it is celebrated every second or third year, not only as a local event with up to more than 1,000,000 participants, but also as a media event in the hosting country as well as countries with a majority of catholic inhabitants. In these countries, the World Youth Day enables the Catholic Church a media presence it normally

has only at Christmas or Easter. Taking the example of 2005, we investigated the mediatization of the Catholic World Youth Day based on various empirical data, in a transcultural comparison of Germany and Italy (cf. Hepp and Krönert 2009). This included interviews with journalists and responsible persons at the Catholic Church; the media coverage in television, newspapers and journals; the ‘mediatization *in situ*’ (that is, a ‘vox-pop’ booth in which any visitor to the World Youth Day could speak his or her personal message to radio); and finally twenty-seven interviews we conducted with youth audiences of the media event in Germany and Italy. In a nutshell, our research could demonstrate that the World Youth Day is mediatized, i.e., in its planning, execution, and appropriation, staged as a ‘hybrid media event,’ integrating moments of ‘sacred ceremony,’ ‘popular pleasure,’ and the ‘Pope as a symbol’ of Catholicism.

These general results can be related to the analytical framework outlined so far. Doing this, we come to the following points:

(a) *Individualization*. First of all, the conception of the World Youth Day can be related to the individualization of religion (cf. Beck 2008). That means, in the present, religion is increasingly a personal decision for a certain belief, and different religions ‘compete’ with their orientation offers. The World Youth Day as a media event offers a chance for the Catholic Church to stage its religious offer in a sophisticated way. For this, they developed the format of a ‘media church service’ that moves patterns into the foreground to secure a staging of the liturgy in a pleasurable way. For this, media experts from television are integrated into the planning of all liturgies and have a ‘pole position’ during the event itself. However, at the same time, the individualization of religion cannot be monosemized. The example of the ‘vox-pop’ booth demonstrates that the participating youth use the possibilities they have to communicate the variety of different belief orientations in Catholicism via the media. The same can be said for the internet. We see here a twofold interrelation between mediatization and the institutionalized context field concerning individualization: On the one hand, there is the ‘pressure’ on the Catholic church to stage itself in a certain media way if it wants to position itself as a ‘central’ belief offer. On the other hand, and in a certain contrast to this, the mass media as well as the internet offer the faithful youth the chance to communicate their variety of individualized faith.

(b) *Deterritorialization*. For sure, belief communities such as Catholicism have been deterritorial from their beginning, as they define themselves as networks of believers beyond national borders. However, (mass) mediatization offers new ways of staging this community in its deterritoriality. The mediatization first of all makes it necessary to find metaphors for deterritoriality, and again the Catholic Church accepts especially the urge of visual media like television and

press photography for such images and produces (e.g., pictures of the meeting of the Pope with youth dressed in various ethnic clothing). Additionally, the planned integration of youth participants around the world results in pictures of flag-waving youth, again symbolizing the deterritorial character of Catholicism. All this is staged in various communicative spaces of different countries and of various religious groups. Here, mediatization is, on the one hand, again instrumentalized by the Catholic Church as a way of staging its own deterritoriality to the utmost. On the other hand, it means a loss of control over the communication about the ‘thickening’ (Hepp and Couldry 2009b) of this event in the very different communicative spaces.

(c) *Intermediacy*. Like any other media event, the World Youth Day is the staging of a wide-ranging intermediacy. More than just the people present at the World Youth Day are integrated in a certain temporally shared experience. Through the (communicative) preparation and postprocessing of the event, as well as the simultaneous staging, the ‘deterritorial belief community’ of Catholicism (and there especially the youth) is synchronized for a certain moment. *Mediatization* can be understood in this perspective as a simultaneous proximity felt by a group of young Catholics across different countries and addressed on a mediated, Pope-related ceremony at the World Youth Day. Therefore, for the Catholic Church, this also means pressure, that is, the pressure to stage the World Youth Day as a progressing visit of the Pope.

To sum up: We can understand the mediatization of the World Youth Day as an interrelation of ‘media moulding-forces’ on the Catholic Church to stage itself and its beliefs in a certain way. At the same time, this institution develops a knowledge of ‘using’ these media possibilities for its own (power) interests, resulting in a ‘branding of religion’ around the Pope as a kind of ‘brand symbol’ of Catholicism. However, at the same time, (young) believers accept other forms of mediatization for counter interests. We rather see a mediatization of a struggled cultural field.

2. *The Mediatization of Diasporas*

The second example I want to present is from our present research on the networking of migrants via various digital media. We are researching this focusing on the Turkish, Russian, and Moroccan diaspora in Germany. In a certain sense, this research can be understood as an investigation of the mediatization of migrant groups. On the quantitative level, it is not surprising to ascertain that digital media are appropriated widely in diasporas. As present research has shown, media in general, and digital media in particular, can be understood as highly important for the processes of articulating diasporic communities, as these media offer the chance for a distinct communicative connectivity that is the foundation of a diasporic articulation across different territories (cf. for digital media, Miller and

Slater 2000; Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Georgiou 2006; Rydin and Sjöberg 2008). This general estimation is also validated by our own research (cf. Hepp 2008a), while we have to draw clear differences between various diasporic groups. But more interesting is, again, a careful look at the qualitative dimensions of mediatization. As our research is still in progress, we must be careful about formulating general considerations; however, it seems to be possible to typify at least the following points across the different diasporas:

(a) *Individualization*. We also have to understand the diasporas within the 'Western world' in the frame of individualization, inasmuch as we do not have just a process of 'living a certain cultural identity abroad' but, as this process is an ongoing process of articulating a hybrid (i.e., diasporic) cultural identity, a process that can also include a (selective) rediscovery and reimagination of one's own 'origins.' Within this process, television played an important role, as it both offered a communicative link to the 'origin' as well as insight into the live contexts around in the present (cf. Gillespie 1995). With digital media, something new enters that we might call 'individualized networking.' Members of diasporas are 'multinetworked' on an individual basis, that is, a translocal networking within the diaspora group and the country of origin and a more local networking to others (not only migrants) in the place where they live. If we discuss this in the frame of 'media moulding forces,' we can say that, for the young generation, 'individualized integration' means mediated networking both within and across the diaspora.

(b) *Deterritorialization*. By definition, diasporas are deterritorialized, that is, ethnic networks across various territories of different nation states. The Russian diaspora, for example, does not live only in Germany but also in other European countries, and the same can be said for the Turkish and Moroccan ones. Because of this, 'smaller media' (Dayan 1999, p. 22) (letters, family videos, etc.) were always of interest to diasporas as offering the chance to stay in contact within the deterritorial network of diaspora. However, what we now can observe across the different diasporas is a move from the previous 'small media' to digital forms, especially in the case of younger generations. However, if we want to discuss this in the frame of the 'media moulding forces,' it is presently the rather diffuse expectation of being (re)presented digitally as well.

(c) *Intermediacy*. Maybe the most striking point in this cultural context field at the moment is the point of intermediacy. With digital media (and in particular the mobile phone and its 'communicative mobility'), we see the possibility of staying in deep local contact as a migrant family. Many of the persons interviewed by us up to this point indicated (not much different from nonmigrants) that the mobile phone offered the chance of a communicative networking *in situ*, a reassurance in their diasporic community whenever necessary. Again, it is too early to outline here the

‘moulding forces’ of the (digital) media in detail. However, the interviewed persons talked about a ‘pressure’ to be connected via the mobile phone.

So maybe we can formulate tentatively, as the research is still in process, that the mediatization of diasporic communities in this context field is related to the intensified communicative connectivity of their members in and across the diaspora while being biographically mobile.

REFLECTING MEDIATIZATION: A DIALECTIC APPROACH

Up to this point, this chapter has been rather a complex argumentation. I started with the position that mediatization theory is right in arguing for a certain ‘influence’ of the media themselves, but wrong in supposing a general ‘media logic.’ Doing this, I tried to argue for an understanding of mediatization as an analytical framework that highlights the ‘moulding forces’ of the media (i.e., the ‘pressure’ of certain media), but this has to be differentiated when we want to understand the interrelation between media and cultural change. So I have outlined, for the *present change*, a general frame of investigating mediatization especially along three dimensions; that is, the social dimension of individualization, the spatial dimension of deterritorialization, and the temporal dimension of the coming of an intermediacy. In the case of all of these dimensions, we cannot suppose one single general logic of the media, but we have to investigate the concrete interrelation between mediatization and cultural change for certain context fields. While such a contextualized critical analysis is the foundation of an understanding of mediatization (and not general assumptions), this does not mean abandoning the concept of mediatization in total; it offers us a chance to understand media-related changes *across* various context fields while focusing on these fields in their specificity.

In all, I want to argue for a dialectic approach on mediatization: We have to see both the transgressing power of the media across the different context fields as well as across different states and cultures. But at the same time, this does not result in a homology of these fields; rather, it is transformed by the ‘inertia’ of the institutions within each context field. Only a careful and critical empirical analysis can present such processes in detail. In the best case, mediatization is no more than a concept to link these different detailed studies to a more general analysis of media power within cultural change. But as such, it is highly helpful.

NOTES

1. One can relate this back to the work of David L. Altheide and Robert P. Snow (Altheide and Snow, 1988; Altheide, 2004); see also Kepplinger, 2002, p. 397.

2. In a certain sense, one can say that it is especially the technological aspect of media that is seen as the basis of their 'effect' on culture and society in medium theory.
3. Nick Couldry (2008, p. 379) interprets this quote as a statement against a narrow approach to mediatization, arguing that Thompson 'avoids the term "mediation" because of its broader usage in sociology.' While I share the reflection that Thompson's considerations are addressed against a narrow approach on media effects in processes of cultural change, I understand his use of 'mediatization' in a comparable sense as I use the concept of mediatization, reflecting that the specificity of certain media makes researchable 'moulding forces' in processes of change. In another section of his book, Thompson argues, for example, that there is a 'mediatization of traditions' by certain media: 'Traditions themselves were transformed as the symbolic content of tradition was increasingly inscribed in new media of communication. The mediatization of tradition endowed with a new life: tradition was increasingly freed from the constraints of face-to-face interaction and took on a range of new traits' (Thompson, 1995, p. 180).
4. Of course, these national-territorial communicative spaces had never been totally closed. We can trace processes of media globalization and transcultural communication back to telegraphy and beyond (cf. Mattelart 2003). However, what I want to argue at this point is the overall orientation of media communication to 'national ranges of distribution' and the communicative construction of a 'national centre'—as I have said: a *tendency*.
5. If we relate this use of the term 'cultural field' to Pierre Bourdieu's 'social field,' I argue much more on the level what he calls 'sub-field.' While also, in Bourdieu's thinking, the exact boundaries of fields and sub-fields are more a contingent question for detailed empirical research than a theoretical issue, the risk of his approach is to differentiate social fields on a much too general level to make an appropriate research on processes of mediatization possible.

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